S: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

462 predominate - the maintenance and harvesting of taro - which together account for 22.9 per cent of their activity time. Men do most planting of taro and are primarily concerned with the cultivation (including harvesting) of both yams and the minor crops. The labour of harvesting yams is shared with the women, although the men direct the operation since yams are a food crop of considerable social and economic importance, and are stored against future needs. Many of the minor crops are tree crops - areca, coconut, breadfruit, etc. - and the fact that men are more adept at harvesting them largely accounts for their greater involvement.

462 Clearing, although both arduous and designed to cater for long-term food requirements, is something of an anomaly in that only 61 per cent of the time expended is contributed by men. However, the women's role is subsidiary, the men being responsible only for the initial clearing and burning, and the women cleaning up the debris and piling it around tree stumps to burn again.

The fact that most marketing of subsistence crops is done by women may be viewed as a logical extension of their gardening activities. The few marketed by men - areca, tobacco, etc. - are considered male crops and a woman would not normally harvest them. But contrast, the marketing of cash crops is dominately a male concern, with the women contributing to the harvesting and processing of coffee on account of its very high labour requirements.

[461] The single most time-consuming activity carried out by either sex is cooking, accounting for 22.1 per cent of the women's activity time. Ninety-seven per cent of all cooking is done by women, the only exceptions being the preparation of meat at feasts or for 'marketing'.

With the exception of parties which mainly attract the young men, both sexes are involved to much the same degree with social obligations and likewise there is little distinction according to sex in connection with the external agencies. Finally, care of the sick concerns women more than men only because it is they who take children to the infant welfare clinics.

561 (ii) By age. While there is not, strictly speaking, any division of labour according to age, there are significant variations in both the general level of activity and allocation of time. These patterns reflect both the customarily defined responsibilities of the several age groups and their diverging interests in the contact situation. Table 6:8 shows the oldest and youngest age groups to be the least active. The reasons for this need no elaboration. [461] The limited involvement of young people in village life gives them time and opportunity for other pursuits: for the 15 to 24 years age group temporary absences accounted for 10.3 per cent of survey time and 6.5 hours per man-week were spent in paid work, but only 7.9 hours in subsistence gardening, the dominant activity of all other age groups.

As age increases, a progressively higher percentage of total time is devoted to productive and to subsistence activities. Commencing at 62.9 per cent and 55.4 per cent respectively in the case of the 15 to 24 years age group, the figures reach 80.8 per cent and 87.2 per cent among those over 55 years. These progressions do not involve an increase in total time devoted to the particular categories. From 25 to 44 years people participate in all forms of activity, while later in life they spend progressively less time on activities not directly concerned with subsistence.

Table 6:8

Sivepe: the division of labour, by age
(hours per week)

Age group	15 to 24	25 to 34	35 to 44	45 to 54	55+
No. and sex of individuals	2M, 5F	4M, 7F	4M, 1F	5M, 5F	2M
Total weeks present	105.9	188.0	115.3	252.6	51.1
Subsistence					
Productive:					
Clearing	2.3	2.7	5.2	3.8	5.8
Subsistence gardening	7.9	13.8	13.5	15.0	12.3
Other subsistence food production	1.8	2.6	5.4	1.6	1.4
Other subsistence activities	1.1	0.8	4.1	2.1	1.5
Household	3.7	8.7	3.0	5.6	0.4
Non-productive:					
Social obligations	4.1	3.2	4.7	3.0	1.8
External					
Productive:					
Cash cropping	0.4	1.7	3.1	1.5	0.1
Paid work	6.5	0.5	0.9	1.0	-
Non-productive:					
External agencies	5.7	6.9	6.9	5.1	2.6
Sickness	1.8	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.7
Miscellaneous	2.4	1.0	0.9	0.2	-
Total	37.7	43.1	48.5	39.3	26.6
Productive time*	62.9	71.5	72.6	77.9	80.8
Subsistence time*	55.4	73.8	74.0	79.1	87.2
Days temporarily absent*	10.3	1.3	8.5	6.5	5.3

* As a percentage of total survey time.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

The one age group not considered in the survey is children. Customarily the parents delegate various tasks to them as they get older, but the current picture is somewhat complicated by the fact that over 80 per cent of all children in the area receive at least a few years' primary schooling. Since the type of education provided has little direct bearing on village life or economy it is not uncommon for such children to profess some disdain for village tasks and the extent to which they assist their elders frequently depends upon the degree of parental authority. Children up to the age of about ten years normally play around the village in the morning and evening, going down to the creek during the hottest part of the day, when they might do a little fishing. If they accompany their parents to the garden they are left in the garden shelter or under the shade of a tree and the older ones are directed to look after the younger. Otherwise the only jobs they appear to do regularly are fetching water and tending the fire, although the older girls are given such household tasks as washing dishes and also attending to infants. Boys over the age of about ten years may hunt, build traps in the forest and do some of the more hazardous jobs like scaling trees for green coconuts, while both they and the girls are called upon to assist in pulping coffee. For those attending school, most of these activities are restricted to the weekends and holidays; even then they may resist their parents' requests for assistance, preferring instead to do a little hunting or fishing for their own amusement or to picnic together.

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The weekly pattern, daily routine and duration of activities

It is customary for ethnographic surveys to devote a section to the description of a typical working day and, in its treatment of the Orokaiva, Williams' account (1930:21-31) is no exception. What he considers to be a normal routine comprises an early breakfast from the cold remnants of the previous evening's meal followed by the departure of family groups to their gardens where they pursue their various tasks. By noon these are completed and most families are back in the village to rest in their houses for an hour or two. 'The real activity of the village commences at about three o'clock' with the preparation of the evening meal by the women, the men meanwhile restricting themselves to sedentary tasks or conversation. This is eaten near nightfall and a period of conversation or informal entertainment follows until everybody retires to sleep. Such a routine may be modified by climate, ceremonial activities and the occasional demands of the Administration and recruiters.

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Regardless of whether the daily routine in the 1920s fully conformed to Williams' description, the present pattern is substantially different, not only for those activities which are directly related to the increased commercialisation of the economy and interaction

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Table 7:9 shows the activities that consume most time of men and women separately, and of the nine most important activities for each sex, only fishing, planting taro and miscellaneous ceremonies appear for both men and women. Apart from planting taro and forest clearance, garden tasks account for a comparatively small proportion of men's time. The other food-producing activities have greater significance, with fishing, hunting and sago-making accounting for over one-fifth of the total time spent by men. It is striking that paid work is the third most important category of activity for men in general, even though the entrepreneur spent only a few hours and the widower no time at all in this way. Since five of the eleven men are in the youngest age group, this group's patterns have a marked influence on the pattern for men as a whole and largely account for the significance of fishing, visiting and miscellaneous ceremonies.

Garden tasks, particularly the maintenance and harvesting of taro, are much more important for women than for men. However, cooking is by far the most time-consuming activity for the former and the other main household chore, washing, is fifth in importance. Much of the time that women spend in fishing is with their husbands but they do fish alone - generally with small nets - while returning from the gardens. As described above, most of the time spent in preparing tools and equipment is for string bags and pandanus-leaf sleeping-mats.

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There is no specialisation of labour according to age. The main apparent differences are that young people (under 25 years) tend to spend more time in non-productive activities such as visiting and miscellaneous social ceremonies, whereas those over 45 have a more restricted range of activities and devote a higher proportion of their time to gardening.

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The weekly pattern of activities

As in Sivepe, there is a semi-official, ideal pattern of work allocation through the week. Monday and Tuesday are said to be for cash cropping, Wednesday for mission work, Thursday and Saturday for subsistence gardening, Friday for council work and Sunday for rest. Although this ideal does have some bearing on behaviour, the actual pattern is much less clearcut.

As Table 7:10 shows, clearing, fencing and cultivation of subsistence gardens take place throughout the week and only a slightly smaller amount of time is devoted to these activities on Sundays than on other days. Cash cropping receives most attention on Mondays and Tuesdays as in the ideal pattern, but it is still quantitatively much less than the attention given to subsistence gardening or to other food-producing activities. On these days cash cropping accounts for 5 per cent of total time spent, compared with 2 per cent over the week as a whole. Church work takes place

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

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Table 10:13

Sivepe: exchange of goods and services, by sex
(percentage distribution)

Category	Acquisition			Disposal		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Subsistence produce: total	47	53	100	35	65	100
deviant items:*						
Taro	42	58	100	18	82	100
'Soup'	57	43	100	7	93	100
Sago	60	40	100	90	10	100
Breadfruit	28	72	100	10	90	100
Areca, lime, etc.	52	48	100	71	29	100
Pig (domestic)	95	5	100	94	6	100
Produce of hunting	79	21	100	72	28	100
Cash crops: total	-	-		100	-	100
Labour services: total	88	12	100	66	34	100
of which:						
Cash	92	8	100	46	54	100
Subsistence	88	12	100	70	30	100
Storebought goods: total	45	55	100	40	60	100
of which:						
Foodstuffs and stimulants	58	42	100	37	63	100
Personal	31	69	100	20	80	100
Household	52	48	100	-	100	100
Tools and equipment	90	10	100	83	17	100
Cash	73	27	100	70	30	100

	Men	Women	Total
Number of days surveyed	2,323	2,418	4,741
Percentage of total	49	51	100

* Items deviating significantly from the total for the category.

In effect, apart from transactions associated specifically with cash (and therefore including the marketing of cash crops), exchange patterns manifest a close association with the basic features of the organisation of production in relation to the sexes.

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(ii) By age. Table 10:14 outlines the percentage distribution of goods and services between five age categories and it also compares these distributions with the relative position of each category within the sample in terms of man-days observed. It demonstrates that, in general, the flow of goods and services is regulated by individuals within the 25 to 44 years age bracket, who are the most active within the sample and therefore, presumably,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 212]

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Table 10:14

Sivepe: exchange of goods and services, by age
(percentage distribution)

Age group (in years)		15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+	Total
No. and sex of individuals		2M,5F	4M,7F	4M,1F	5M,5F	2M	35
Total days present		699	1,238	755	1,686	343	7,471
Percentage of total days present		15	26	16	36	7	100
Subsistence produce: total	A	7	28	24	35	5	99
	D	4	34	23	35	5	101
deviant items:							
Sweet potato	A	8	42	20	25	5	100
	D	-	60	15	22	2	99
Sago	A	2	15	26	50	7	100
	D	-	7	39	2	52	100
Pig (domestic)	A	-	6	25	65	4	100
	D	-	2	25	73	-	100
Hunting produce	A	2	25	19	51	3	100
	D	-	35	40	26	-	101
Cash crops: total	A	-	-	-	-	-	-
	D	-	21	52	27	-	100
Labour services: total	A	-	6	48	15	30	99
	D	22	20	32	23	2	99
of which:							
Cash	A	-	15	77	8	-	100
	D	11	13	31	43	2	100
Subsistence	A	-	5	45	16	34	100
	D	23	23	32	20	2	100
Storebought goods: total	A	8	40	20	29	3	100
	D	5	37	21	37	-	100
of which:							
Foodstuffs and stimulants	A	10	35	22	30	3	100
	D	8	48	19	24	-	99
Personal	A	11	75	7	5	1	99
	D	-	12	-	88	-	100
Household	A	11	24	25	40	-	100
	D	-	66	-	34	-	100
Tools and equipment	A	5	23	53	20	-	101
	D	3	9	62	26	-	100
Cash: total	A	9	35	27	27	1	99
	D	9	34	26	31	1	101

561 the ones with the largest surplus of production above their immediate household needs. This pattern, in association with the particular roles of the oldest and youngest age groups, appears to support the widely held proposition of individuals building up 'credit' within the community to draw upon in their old age. The data might equally be interpreted as suggesting that most of the transactions are concerned with personal aggrandisement and only the middle age groups are capable of achieving this. Thus, in the exchange of labour services, there is a significant outflow from the 15 to 24 years age group and an inflow into the 55 years plus - that is, from a group where labour is the one abundant resource to another where it is scarce and needed to achieve subsistence - yet the 35 to 44 years group also registers a net inflow. Much of the labour received by the 55 years plus age group was connected with sago-making and this same group accounted for half the sago distributed. Since the individual concerned, within this age group, was unable to collect his own breadfruit and had no other way of reciprocating other gifts, offering one of his sago trees proved an effective way of settling his obligations and, at the same time, meeting his own dry season food requirements while expending little of his own labour.

[556] Each of the three other age groups plays an important role in the flow of specific resources. The 45 to 54 years group largely controls the movement of pigs, one of the main traditional indicators of wealth, but not of products associated with the monetary sector. These latter are divided differentially between the 35 to 44 and 25 to 34 years groups, the first being concerned primarily with cash cropping, from which its revenue is mostly derived and therefore its access to storebought goods, while the second relies heavily on remittances and parcels of goods from relatives in wage employment.

In effect the three middle age groups control the circulation of 'wealth', with that of the 25 to 34 years group being founded almost exclusively on non-traditional goods, that of the 45 to 54 years on traditional, and that of the 35 to 44 years encompassing the two where they are derived from agricultural endeavours (garden produce and cash crops).

<u>The relationships between exchange and the socio-economic status of transacting partners</u>

177 Within the total economic system, of which the subsistence villagers comprise the basic stratum, a number of distinct socio-economic categories can be identified with each playing a distinctive role in the pattern of exchanges. On the one hand there are the institutions or organisations associated with the expatriate community or directly promoted by them - the Administration, the OCCS, the Anglican mission, the trade store, the market, etc. - with which transactions are of a formal nature and operate between the individual villager and others in their roles as members of an institution. On the other

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437 produce, while the second results in sustained interaction with affines at the probable expense of agnates living elsewhere. The latent obligations to more distant kin are revealed on such occasions as an unexpected visit Palminus received from his father's [431] sister's son following the birth of Palminus' child. His embarrassment at not having previously advised the man of the birth was only compensated by his making an immediate gift of $2.

The facility with which kinship links can be drawn between most, if not all, of the villagers makes it difficult to identify significant, yet mutually exclusive, categories of exchange partners. Exchanges between two individuals might, for example, be variously interpreted as being between neighbours, affines or age-mates. The most important economic connection is between an individual's families of orientation and of procreation, where the two households are located adjacent to each other. Although each maintains separate gardens, between such linked households there is a substantial, if variable, degree of inter-dependence and the network of exchanges may incorporate three generations.

437 Other major exchange relationships operate with affines, matri-
561 lateral and patrilateral kin and are typically restricted to members
[602] of the individual's age group, for example, cross-cousin, wife's brother and sister's husband. Such coeval links also extend to individuals with whom there is no apparent bond of kinship. Traditionally these links may have been restricted to fellow-initiates, who were of both sexes and stood in a defined relationship where [178] each referred to the others as nanamei.[1] Since the disappearance of initiation ceremonies the connection is now of a more informal nature, reflecting similarity of interests.

437 In effect, regular exchanges operate between members of one's
602 own generation, where partners may be drawn from a wide range of kinship categories and with other generations in the case of primary and secondary kin (see Table 10:18). Other large exchanges which fall outside this pattern are mostly of a specific nature and characterised by immediate reciprocation, as in the case of pigs and sago-making. There is only limited evidence to suggest that the movement of specific goods and services follows distinct patterns, although those relating to the external sector do move almost exclusively between primary kin. However, this fact cannot be considered to indicate a different attitude to the ideal of reciprocation on the part of those having direct access to cash crops and money. Where an individual's family of orientation renders assistance with processing coffee, it is normally without cash crops of its own and where remittances are received from sons,

[601] [1] Meaning 'my children', i.e. 'the children of whom I am one'. See Williams 1930:180.

On the other hand, some feasts held today have no precise traditional equivalent. These include those associated with festivals of the local church; those to farewell or welcome home children attending distant schools, migrant workers and others; those to mark the opening of new churches, schools and medical aid posts; and finally and most recently, feasts or 'parties' to celebrate the birthdays of favoured children. 574 178

A birthday feast held in Inonda village in July 1962 illustrates changes taking place in some of the social and economic values of the community, and persistence in others. The celebration was held to mark the birthdays of the two adopted children (actually the illegitimate issue of two daughters) of a prominent local citizen, a retired mission teacher. It was the first such party held in this village, though similar parties had been held in neighbouring villages. Several villagers mentioned that they intended holding birthday parties for their first-born children. The idea was introduced by indigenous mission teachers who have attended birthday parties held by their European counterparts. 574 561 [177]

Few Orokaiva people are aware of the birth dates of their children and those few who are derive some satisfaction from the fact. In this instance, the children whose birthdays were being celebrated were a boy aged nine and a girl aged one. The party was said to be for both children, though 'mainly for the boy'. Their actual birthdays were said to have been 18 and 22 June respectively, but the feast was not held until the following Saturday as several of the villagers and many of those invited from outside the village work during the week as labourers for the Public Works Department, for a local engineering contractor and for local European planters. Almost all feasts and ceremonies conducted in this village today are held on Saturdays.

The host (the adopted father of the children) is not engaged in paid work and he and his wife, assisted by their three married daughters, spent the two preceding days gathering food from the gardens. Two of the daughters live in the same village as their father and the other in a village about six miles away. As all the host's male relatives in this village were employed at the time, he sent for his brother's grandson, a single man in a village about fifteen miles away, to come and assist. A small platform and a leaf shelter were built outside the host's house: the former to serve food on and the latter as shade for the visitors. 574 [343]

Taro was the main food provided, and of an estimated total contribution of 383 pounds, 128 pounds were brought by the host and his wife, 105 pounds by their three married daughters, 70 pounds by two clanswomen of the host's wife, and 80 pounds by three clanswomen of the host's eldest daughter's husband. 574 431 602

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
[422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. How in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timunu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are
[538] predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
[871] acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
[167] did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

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TABLE 18

SIVEPE: THE DIVISION OF LABOUR BY AGE
(In Hours Per Week)

Source: Waddell and Krinks 1968: 104

Age Group	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55+
No. of Individuals	2M, 5F	4M, 7F	4M, 1F	5M, 5F	2M
Total Weeks Present	105.9	128.0	115.3	252.6	51.1
SUBSISTENCE					
Productive:					
Clearing	2.3	2.7	5.2	3.8	5.8
Subsistence gardening	7.9	13.8	13.5	14.9	12.3
Other subsistence food production	1.8	2.6	5.4	1.6	1.4
Other subsistence activities	1.1	0.8	4.1	2.1	1.6
Household	3.7	8.7	2.9	5.6	0.4
Non-productive:					
Social obligations	4.1	3.2	4.7	2.9	1.8
EXTERNAL					
Productive:					
Cash cropping	0.4	1.7	3.1	1.5	0.1
Paid work	6.5	0.5	0.9	0.9	-
Non-productive:					
External agencies	5.7	6.9	6.9	5.1	2.6
Sickness	1.8	1.2	0.8	0.3	0.7
Miscellaneous	2.4	1.0	0.8	0.2	-
TOTAL	37.7	43.1	48.5	39.3	26.6
Productive time*	62.9	71.5	72.7	78.1	80.9
Subsistence time*	55.4	73.8	74.1	78.4	87.3
Days temporarily absent*	10.3	1.3	8.5	6.5	5.3

* As a percentage of total survey time.